1: Krasheninnikov N-5 (1736-40) 1764 Kamchadal

the ſettled *Koreki* and *Tchukotſkoi*, for want of proper timber and plank, make their baidars of the ſkins of ſea animals. 171 501

Theſe boats hold two perſons, one of which ſits in the prow and the other in the ſtern. They puſh them againſt the ſtream with poles, which is attended with great trouble: when the current is ſtrong they can ſcarcely advance two feet in ten minutes; notwithſtanding which, they will carry theſe boats full loaded ſometimes 20 verſts, and, when the ſtream is not very ſtrong, even 30 or 40 verſts.

In the larger boats they can carry 30 or 40 pood; and when the goods are not very heavy, they lay them upon a float or bridge made between two boats joined together. They uſe this method in tranſporting their proviſions down with the ſtream, and alſo to and from the iſlands.

CHAP. VI.

Of the LABOUR *appropriated to the* DIFFERENT SEXES. 221 462

IN the ſummer-time the men are employed in catching, drying, and tranſporting fiſh to their habitations; in preparing bones and ſour fiſh to feed their dogs: the women, in cleaning the fiſh, and ſpreading it out to dry; and ſometimes they go a fiſhing with their huſbands. After their fiſhing is over, they gather in the herbs, roots, and berries, both for food and medicine.

In the harveſt the men catch the fiſh that appear at that time, and kill fowl, ſuch as geeſe, ducks, ſwans, and the like; they teach their dogs to draw carriages, and prepare wood for their

221 462 ſledges, and other uſes. The women at this time are buſy with their hemp of nettles, in pulling it up, watering, breaking, peeling, and laying it up in their balagans.

The men in the winter hunt for ſables and foxes, weave fiſhing nets, make ſledges, fetch wood, and bring their proviſions from ſeveral places, which they had prepared in the ſummer, and could not bring home in the harveſt. The women are principally employed in ſpinning thread for nets.

In the ſpring, when the rivers begin to thaw, the fiſh that wintered in them go towards the ſea; and the men are buſied in catching them or the ſea animals that at this time frequent the bays. The people upon the Eaſtern Ocean catch the ſea beaver.

462 221 262 All the women go into the fields, where they gather wild garlick, and other young tender herbs, which they uſe not only in a ſcarcity of other proviſion, which often happens at this ſeaſon of the year, but likewiſe out of luxury; for ſo fond are they of every thing that is green, that during the whole ſpring they are ſeldom without having ſome of it in their mouths; and though they always bring home a great bundle of greens, they ſeldom laſt them above a day.

462 Beſides the above-mentioned employments the men are obliged to build their huts and balagans, to heat their huts, dreſs victuals, feed their dogs, flea the animals, whoſe ſkins are uſed in cloathing, and provide all houſhold and warlike inſtruments: the women are here the only taylors and ſhoemakers, for they dreſs the ſkins, make the cloaths, ſhoes, and ſtockings: it is even a diſgrace for the men to do any thing of that ſort; ſo that they looked upon the *Ruſſians* who came here firſt in a very ridiculous light, when they ſaw them uſe either their needle or awl. The women are likewiſe employed in dying ſkins, in conjuration, and

281 curing of the ſick. Their method of preparing and dying ſkins, ſewing and joining them, is as follows: every ſkin which they uſe

6:Antropova E-4 (no date) 1964 RY3 Kamchadal RY3

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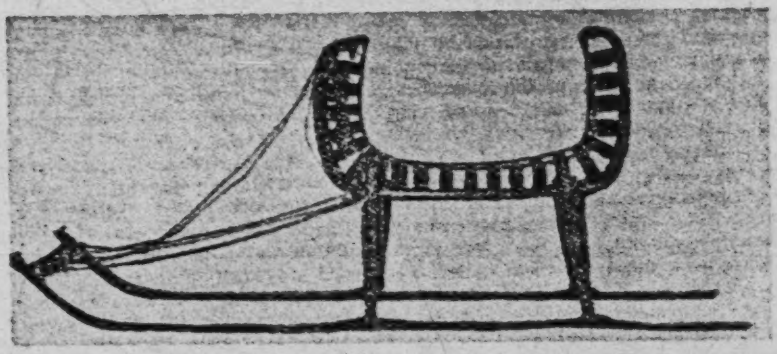

18th-century dogsled.

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handle. Later the horn was replaced by an iron tip. Gathering plants was women's work. Fishing and hunting were men's occupations, but the preserving of fish was in the woman's domain, as were the spinning of thread for the nets from nettle, the weaving of mats, and sewing of clothes. Krasheninnikov reports that preparing food, tending the dogs and all carpentry work were done by men.

The Russians found among the Itel'mens a highly developed neolithic technology. "The former Kamchatka metals, almost until the coming of the Russians, were bone and stones. They were used in the making of axes, knives, spears, arrows, lancets and needles," Krasheninnikov writes about the Itel'mens. Rock crystal was also widely used for knives and tips. Fire was made with a wooden drill. Food, mainly fish and meat, was cooked even in the early 18th century in wooden troughs, into which red-hot stones were thrown.

The only domesticated animal of the Itel'mens was the dog. Later, harness dog-breeding of the so-called Eastern Siberian type developed in Kamchatka. However, until the middle of the 19th century, the Itel'mens used their ancient sled with two pairs of arched staves and a saddle-like seat. At the time of Krasheninnikov's visit, the Itel'mens had gliding skis, but used mostly woven snowshoes. River navigation was by bat—narrow boats, hollowed out of whole poplar trunks. For stability and greater carrying capacity, two of these boats were sometimes tied together and covered to make a platform. Krasheninnikov reports that it took the Itel'mens three years to make a bat with a stone adze.

The Russians called the Itel'men villages in the 18th century ostrozhkas, or "little forts." They were situated along river banks and consisted of winter and summer dwellings. The winter dwelling was a semiunderground yurt, as it was then called by the Russians, with an entrance through the smoke-opening in the roof. The dwelling also had a side exit, but this was used only by women and children. The summer dwelling of the individual family was the so-called balagan—a pyramidal, grass-covered tent set on high platforms resting on piles. The ancient dress of the Itel'mens resembled Koryak and Chukchi dress.

Such, in its general features, was the material culture of the Itel'mens in the beginning of the 18th century. Analogous to the low level of material production were the primitive forms of social relations.

7:Lesseps T-3 (1787-88)1790 Kamchadal

177 or of ſkin without hair; they are made like
291 the parque, and anſwer the ſame purpoſe,
563 that is, to be worn over their other garments. Their gala dreſs, is a parque trimmed with otter ſkins and velvet, or other ſtuffs and furs equally dear. The women are clothed like the Ruſſian women, whoſe mode of dreſs is too well known to need a deſcription; I ſhall therefore only obſerve, that the exceſſive ſcarcity of every ſpecies of ſtuff at Kamtſchatka, renders the toilet of the women an object of very conſiderable expence: they ſometimes adopt the dreſs of the men.

262 The principal food of theſe people con-
462 ſiſts, as I have already obſerved, in dried
222 fiſh. The fiſh are procured by the men, while the women are employed in domeſtic occupations, or in gathering fruits and other vegetables, which, next to the dried fiſh, are the favourite proviſions of the Kamtſchadales

7:Lesseps T-3 (1787-88)1790 Kamchadal

262 222 462 527 ſchadales and Ruſſians of this country. When the women go out to make theſe harveſts for winter conſumption, it is high holyday with them, and the anniverſary is celebrated by a riotous and intemperate joy, that frequently gives riſe to the moſt extravagant and indecent ſcenes. They diſperſe in crouds through the country, ſinging and giving themſelves up to all the abſurdities which their imagination ſuggeſts; no conſideration of fear or modeſty reſtrains them. I cannot better deſcribe their licentious frenzy than by comparing it with the bacchanals of the Pagans. Ill betide the man whom chance conducts and delivers into their hands! however reſolute or however active he may be, it is impoſſible to evade the fate that awaits him; and it is ſeldom that he eſcapes, without receiving a ſevere flagellation.

Their proviſions are prepared nearly in the